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(The following are excerpts from speeches delivered at a Lafayette College symposium on "Violence in the American Society" on April 16. Complete copies of all five addresses are available on request.)

DR. MARGARET MEAD, anthropologist

"Every group that has been exploited by reason of race, or sex, or ethnic minority - all over the world - is asking for more dignity, for a place in the sun.... Most disadvantaged people don't have a voice...so...the way that they can be heard is to behave violently.... This is happening everywhere in the world for every sort of group.... Unfortunately, the only thing that anybody can be perfectly certain to get on TV is violence - which is not TV's fault completely because nobody's thought of anything better to put on TV. We have a tremendous exaggeration (of violence), simply because this dramatizes to people what is happening."

"I think that the major issue about the Vietnam War is that for the first time Americans have had to see on TV that American soldiers fight. And when they do, somebody gets killed. Between the Civil War and the Vietnam War we were a nation of absolute heroes, only shooting when we're shot at, and never involved in anything destructive or cruel. All the publications were edited in this patriotic image and we had no impact of war in this country. The Vietnam War we've had for breakfast and for dinner every night uncensored on television...."

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"(Another) point in America that makes life very difficult is that we always depended on the gun to make the little guy into a big guy so he could deal with the bad, big guy. And we're always on the side of the little guy. The little guy with the gun has much more of our sympathy than a big guy with a gun. All the efforts of gun control in this country have failed because it's seen as emasculating the little, good guy who's on the side of good. But how can you be on the side of good without a gun? As long as we resist gun controls we're going to have thousands of people murdered by every sort of inadvertency."

DR. CHARLES V. HAMILTON, black power advocate and director of the graduate program in urban studies at Roosevelt University

"I think that the serious problem, as far as I'm concerned, is not that this damn society is going to blow up, but that large numbers of black people are going to tune out and do nothing and become vegetables. That's what worries me."

"But what really bothers me is the capacity of the society to absorb all of this (violence) and still not do a God damn thing. What really gets me up tight, you see, is that this society is so over-populated with so many insensitive people - that's the over-population problem. If we were over-populated with a lot of sensitive people, and intelligent people, then somehow I wouldn't be worried about over-population. But we're over-populated with so many damn ignorant, insensitive people, prejudiced and racist people, that's the part that bothers me."

"We're not really going to do anything about this problem. We're going to sit and have symposia all the time; we're going to sit and have conferences all the time, and not do a God damn thing. People are just going to go on and on and on. And the black community is going to just vegetate. That's what really bothers me!"

"The alienated (black) revolutionary clearly says '(change) comes out of the barrel of the gun. Whatever change is going to take place will come violently....' They are getting their minds together to the extent that they will be prepared psychologically to deal with (planned violence). The important thing is not that many of these groups are really stock-piling arms. The most dangerous thing, in terms of disruption of society, is that these groups are preparing themselves mentally to be able to pull it off. They will be sanctioned by their own sense of efficacy and legitimacy. The fact that their violence will not be sanctioned by the larger society becomes irrelevant. That's what's happening."

DR. RALPH W. CONANT, associate director, Lemberg Center for the Study of Violence, Brandeis University

"I believe if we examine the substance of student protest we find these essential demands being made: dispense with arbitrary rule, loosen the structure to allow for meaningful participation by students, personalize the education process, reform curricula to encourage creativity and spontaneity, de-emphasize conformity and parochialism. I can find no evidence from our studies of student protest that the movement as a whole has other than these fundamentally constructive ends."

"I believe the central problem of student unrest is that we have created a tightly organized, efficient and austere society geared principally to a highly productive and competitive economic system. We have developed an educational system which is quite specifically tailored to that economic system, to the point where the emphasis is on conformity and specialization rather than liberalization of creative potential."

"Students are not encouraged to examine unpopular view points and philosophies, and so they grow up without ever learning how to handle modes of thought that are very different from their own. This is a very serious shortcoming of the educational system of a nation whose very essence is pluralism and whose destiny is one of world wide influence and leadership. Some of our brighter, more thoughtful students, many of whom have the potential for creative leadership, find the conformity producing programs of our schools severely constraining....The rebellion against the constraints in the educational system has begun in this country and it will spread until the constraints are loosened. The students see, as we should be seeing, that the loosening of constraints and the broadening of opportunities for creativity, leadership, self governance, and personal freedom are necessary to the continued progressive development of the political and economic system that we and our fathers have worked so hard to nurture over the last two centuries."

DR. JAMES Q. WILSON, professor of government, Harvard University

"The police are caught in a dilemma. If they respond to the concern of the victims of crime...then the only techniques that they have at their disposal...are inevitably going to intensify what is called 'the police-community relations problem.' Conversely, to the extent they try to accommodate themselves to the police-community relations problem in any meaningful way...they are, in my opinion, going to allow the crime rate to go up even faster. The difficulty is that aggressive patrolling techniques are effective in helping identify people who do have criminal intent, but at the price of disturbing people who do not....The only way we can (reduce this dilemma) is if we stop conceiving of the problem of law, order and justice...as solely a police problem. If the police are the only agency through which we act, the dilemma is unreconcilable."

"Narcotics is destroying the central parts of many of our largest cities. It is responsible for a very large part of street crime, including...the most heinous crimes of violence.... We know that in many public schools...a large fraction of the students drop out because they have been destroyed by heroin....I am not a scientist, and I cannot suggest to you what strategy will be useful. I know that the present strategy of half-hearted law enforcement has failed utterly. I would suggest that unless we're prepared to devote substantial resources to experimentation, unless we're prepared to allow qualified researchers to experiment with drugs in hopes of finding a non-addictive substitute for heroin, unless we're prepared to encourage the experiments, to resort to civil commitments where necessary in order to implement them, then narcotics will continue to account for a very substantial fraction of our crime rate, and the police simply cannot be held responsible for it."

"Without a joint plan for police-community participation in a common enterprise (law enforcement), the police are not going to be able to escape their dilemma. At best, they will fight a rear-guard action against rising crime rates. At worst, they will be seen by the people they are supposed to protect as an alien army of occupation."

HOWARD R. LEARY, police commissioner, New York City

"The police stand--and to some extent must stand--as the guardians of the status quo. That guardianship does not depend on an assumption or belief that the status quo is the best of all possible worlds--indeed, more than most the policeman knows the weaknesses and injustices of our laws. Nevertheless, the policeman has a duty to maintain our laws and our system of law while change and transition can take place within the framework of our constitution and without violence."

"Of course the problem of violence and law and order cannot be delegated exclusively to the police. First, a broad based attack on the existence of social prejudice and economic deprivation must be launched. Only by assuring all citizens of a fair stake in our society and of a fair share in the control of their affairs can we meaningfully attack the tensions and frustrations that make men reject society and society's rules."

"The greatest cause of violence and the greatest threat to law and order comes from the tensions and conflicts of a divided society. Each of us, and perhaps particularly each policeman, has an obligation to work at reducing those tensions and conflicts and at eliminating their causes. But as long as society is imperfect, part of the function of the police will be to enforce the law against those who endanger the

rights of others. On the part of the police this requires an awareness of the rights of all individuals and the patience and discipline to meet invective with restraint and violence with only such force as is necessary to preserve the vital rights of others; on the part of the public this requires an awareness that fair but firm law enforcement is the effective alternative to chaos on the one hand or a police state on the other, and that the constructive outlet for dissatisfaction with the status quo is not abuse of the police who enforce the law but political and social agitation to change the law."